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THE DATE OF THE GREAT CHALICE OF ANTIOCH

NEITHER time nor space permitted me to enter fully into the very important question regarding the date of the chalice of Antioch, and in my preliminary report¹ on this subject there is no reference to some points which had not then become clear. Since that report I have found no evidence of a later date than that which I there assigned to the ornaments of the chalice, but some new evidence which confirms my former views. My general conclusion is that the form and proportions of the chalice, belong, in their origin and development, to the period included between the middle of the second century B.C. and the beginning of the second century A.D., and that the date of the inner bowl must be twenty or more years earlier than the ornaments, the execution of which must fall in the second half of the first century A.D.

The reasons for these conclusions will be developed below.

Chalices Figured on Coins of Simon.—The earliest type of a chalice possessing the form and proportions of the Antioch chalice (Fig. 1, 2) is to be found on coins of the middle of the second century B.C. There are many coins of this type,² especially those of Simon Maccabaeus, 141–142 B.C. On these coins we find a chalice, with or without handles (Fig. 1, 5). The bowl is a truncate ovoid with a narrow, slender and remarkably short stem, characterized by a *nodus* of spherical form, just as on the chalice of Antioch. The stem is slightly higher than the stem of the chalice, but the disk forming the foot is narrow, as on the chalice. The relative proportions of bowl, stem, and foot are almost the same, with the exception of the slightly higher stem already mentioned. The important point is that the form of the bowl, the spherical *nodus*, and the narrow foot existed already at

¹ *A. J. A.*, XX, 1916, pp. 426 ff.

² For Jewish coins with chalices cf. L. Anson, *Numismata Graeca*, pls. I and VI; figs. 360, 361, 363, 367. About 137 B.C.

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that early date, and that the *nodus* was not a late Christian invention, as some have suggested.

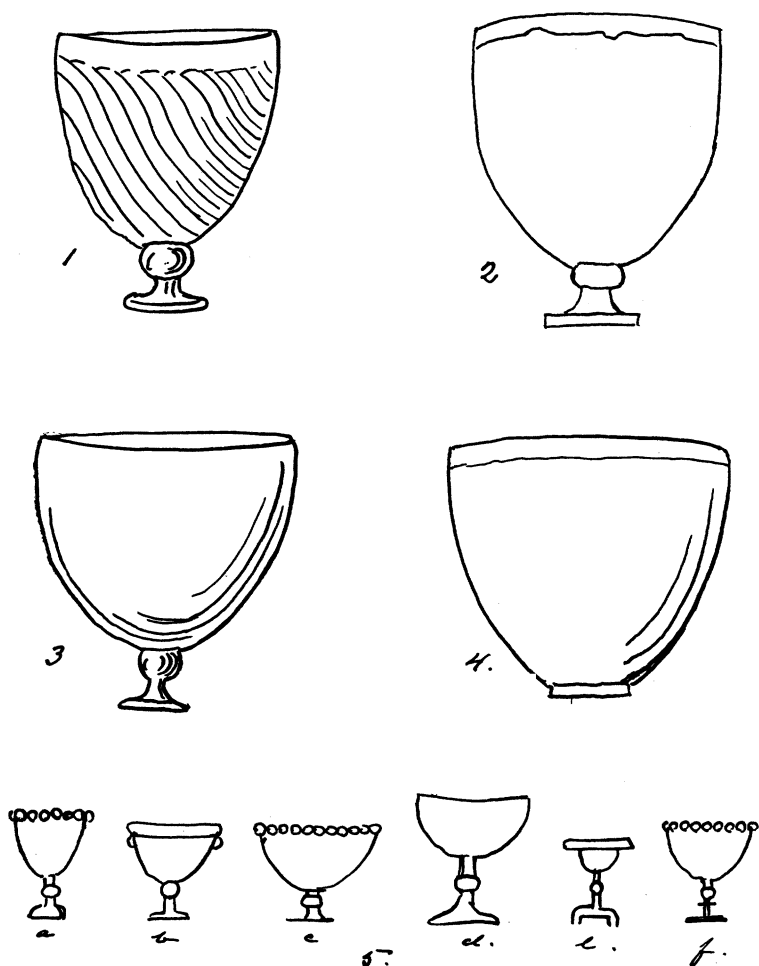


FIGURE 1.—CHALICES

1. A small glass chalice. First century A.D. Private collection in New York. Found in Syria.
2. The chalice of Antioch.
3. Chalice from a painting in Pompeii. First century A.D. After Roux.
4. The Cup on the Arch of Titus.
5. Six types of holy vessels, probably from the Temple in Jerusalem. From Jewish coins of the middle of the second century B.C.

The Treasure of Boscoreale.—The form of the bowl of the chalice is similar to many of the bowls of the cups in this treasure.¹ The ovoid shape was common in the first century, having been continued from the second century B.C. as has already been described. It was by no means a new invention, although cups of this form are rare in the period immediately preceding Augustus and Tiberius. In the Boscoreale cups we see this similarity not only in the form of the bowl, but also in the proportions of the bowl and the stem. In these too we have the lip turned over in the form of a low collar. The only difference between the chalice and these cups is that the chalice possesses no handles, and that the cups do not possess a spherical *nodus*. As, however, cups, datable in the first century A.D., are known without such handles and also furnished with a spherical *nodus*, having also the form and proportions of the chalice and the Boscoreale cups, these two differences lose every value. Not one single specimen of this form and with such proportions has been found of a date later than the first century A.D. Some, however, are earlier.

*The Cup on the Table in the Arch of Titus.*²—Here too the form of the bowl (Fig. 1, 4) is almost a copy of the bowl of the chalice. There is no stem on this cup, and we can conclude that if there were one the artist would have shown it, provided it had been conspicuously large. If this cup had had a very low stem, like that of the chalice, the artist might well have neglected to represent it. There is, however, a very narrow disk at the foot like that on the chalice. This cup is a great puzzle, as no vessel of this type is known to have been in the temple of Herod. There are many representations of the temple vessels extant, but as I am preparing a special paper on this subject I do not desire at present to enter upon any discussion, especially as these vessels have not been individually studied. Some of them are figured on a gold glass in the Museo Cristiano in the Vatican. On the bottom of this glass we see a perfect representation of the Temple of Herod and an inscription which leaves no doubt about its real nature. It is the only authentic representation known. Below the temple we have a row of the holy vessels, the two urns for the manna, the incense burner, and others. But none has the

¹ A. Héron de Villefosse, 'Le Tresor de Boscoreale,' *Mon. Piot*, V, 1899 pp. 7-290.

² A good reproduction is in C. Adler and I. M. Casanowicz, 'Biblical Antiquities,' Smithsonian Institution, 1899,

form of the cup on the relief. The nature of the cup is thus in doubt, but the date is not, because the cup could not be later than the triumph. It must have been one of the spoils, though perhaps not necessarily one of those actually brought to Rome. We know that Titus placed the two Cherubim from the Ark of the Covenant on the city gate of Antioch, and therefore did not bring everything to Rome. The trumpets from the temple are represented on the Arch in connection with the cup.

Pompeian Wall Painting.—A chalice of the exact form and proportions of that of Antioch is seen on a wall in Pompeii (Fig. 1, 3).¹ It has not only the bowl and proportions of our chalice, but also its spherical *nodus*. The date of this vase is, of course, not later than 79 A.D. As no similar representation is known of a later date, this painted vessel alone would suffice to place the form and proportions of our chalice in the second half of the first century, even if no other evidence existed.

Glass Vessel of the Exact Form and Proportions of the Chalice.—While not a single glass, terra-cotta, or metal vessel of the form and proportions of our chalice has been found later than the first century, one at least, besides those mentioned, has been found which with absolute certainty can be dated in that century. This object is a small glass vessel (Fig. 1, 1) about three inches high, made of clear, once probably translucent glass, which is now iridescent. It is almost an absolute copy in miniature of the Antioch chalice. There is the same ovoid truncate bowl, remarkably short stem, spherical *nodus*, and narrow disk at the foot. Its surface is covered with parallel shallow and curved flutings from *nodus* to lip. Such a type of fluting is known in glass vessels of the first century, but is not found later than the second century. Combined with the character of the form and proportions it helps to date the object in the first century. This bowl was found in a Syrian tomb, and is now in a private collection in New York.

The Augustus Cup.—As reference has already been made in my previous article to this cup, which is a part of the Boscoreale treasure, it is only necessary to mention that the important similarities with the ornaments of the chalice are three: the pose of the figures of Augustus and of Nos. 1, 3, and 8 on the chalice, the platforms of the thrones (Fig. 2, 10-13), and the dress. The artist of the chalice might have had these or similar representations before him when he chased the ornaments.

¹Roux *Herculanum et Pompéi*, IV, Ser. 3, pl. 115.

Arretine and Green Glazed Pottery.—With these two types of pottery of the early empire the chalice of Antioch has many points in common. On these vessels, generally of medium to small size, we find an ornamentation of stems with leaves and bunches which not only show the naturalistic style of the corresponding objects on the chalice, but which sometimes are arranged in the same manner, issuing in pairs from the ground line. These vines are sometimes joined at their tips and tied with a bow and knot as on the chalice.¹ Many of the vases are ornamented with rosettes similar to those on the chalice, singly, in pairs, or in groups, or in a continuous band under the lip. The latter arrangement, so similar to that of the chalice, is seen on a magnificent specimen of Arretine pottery in the Metropolitan Museum.² This vase is signed "Tigranes," and cannot be later than the middle of the first century. Much of the green glazed pottery of this period is ornamented with figures which in position and arrangement resemble those of the chalice. In fact it seems evident that the artist of the chalice had some of these vessels and their ornaments in his mind or actually before him, when he designed those of the chalice. He even seems to have been greatly inspired by their ornaments, adopting arrangement as well as details. This he could hardly have done unless he actually belonged to their period, as few of these vessels survived the first century A.D., their period of manufacture being in the first century B.C. and the first century A.D. After the latter century these vessels were replaced by the cheaper and more fashionable glass.

The Naples Cameo Vase.—The wonderful cameo vase in blue and white glass in the Museum of Naples is too well known to need any description, and figures of it are found in most books on art. The best that I have seen is that by Zahn in natural colors.³ It has besides the advantage of showing the vase also from the side of the vines. We recognize at once two striking similarities with the ornaments of the chalice. The two vines on the vase rise from the ground line as on the chalice, and form an upper

¹ Similar bowknots in connection with vine branches are also seen on a silver cup of the Hildesheim treasure according to Blume, *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund*. Hildesheim 1905.

² Gisela M. A. Richter, 'Hellenistic and Roman Glazed Vases,' *B. Metr. Mus.* March, 1916.

³ Zahn, *Die schönsten Ornamente aus Pompeii, Herculaneum, und Stabiae*, pl. 77.

loop and a lower arch almost exactly like those on the chalice. The resemblance goes even further. The place which on the chalice is occupied by the seated figure No. 1, is on the vase occupied by a group of four rosettes like those on the marble table in the Metropolitan Museum. The place occupied by the eagle is on the vase occupied by a large mask which also extends down into the lower arch, here replacing the basket. The

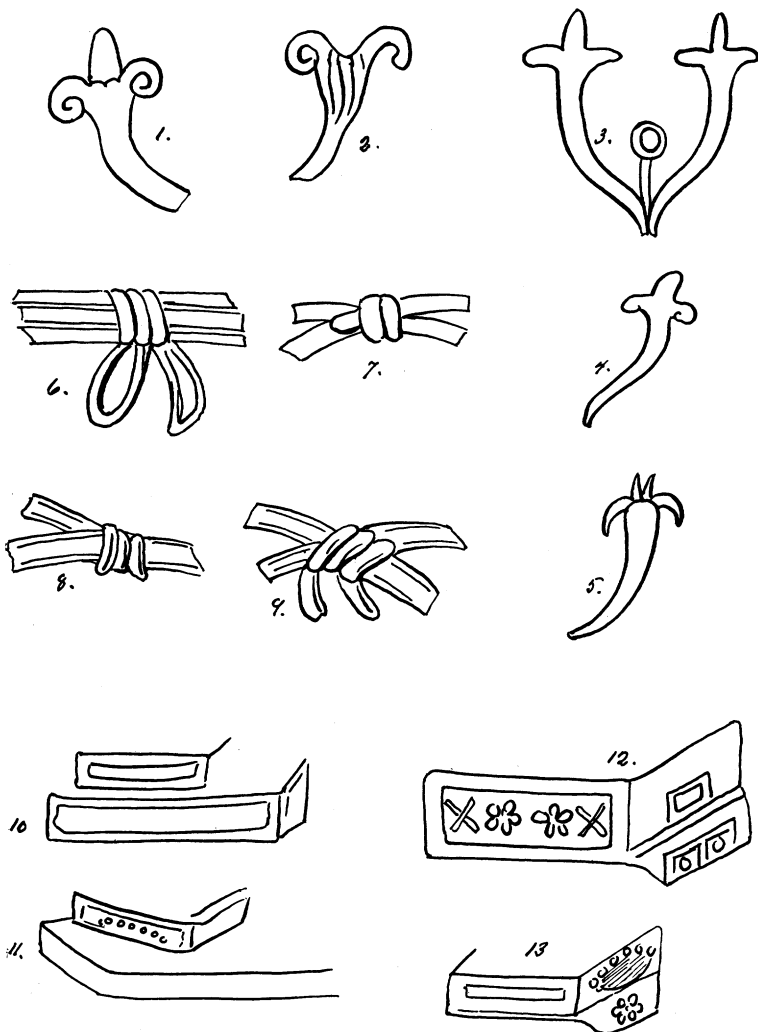


FIGURE 2.

vase could in fact very well have served as a model for the artist of the chalice. That the technique and style of the vines of the vase are different does not contradict this assertion, because they were naturally modified in order to suit the material. The vines and tendrils on the vase could be cut as slender as the artist desired, while those on the chalice had to be robust in order to permit of soldering to the surface of the matrix of the bowl.

The Naples Glass Goblet.—This glass,¹ the size of a tumbler, is ornamented with several vine-trunks with leaves and bunches in the robust style of those of the chalice. They follow each other spirally in the manner of the fluting of the small glass vase already mentioned. On the ground line is a rabbit in the act of attacking a bunch of grapes. Among the leaves is a dove. Closely related to the ornaments of the chalice, but less skillfully executed, this goblet is of importance for the date of the chalice. It was buried by the eruption of 79 A.D.

A Roman Support for a Table.—In the Metropolitan Museum of New York is a very fine marble support for a table in the Pompeian style. It consists of an upright slab with sculptured sides. The ornament is composed of grapevine stems which form loops in the manner of those on the chalice and on the Naples cameo vase. The tips of the vine stems end in cornucopia buds as on the

¹ A. Deville, *Histoire de l'Art de la Verrerie dans l'Antiquité*, pl. 9 B.

EXPLANATION OF FIGURE 2

END BUDS AND CORNUCOPIAE

- 1 and 2. End buds of the vine. Chalice of Antioch.
3. Cornucopia,—flower or bud. Coins of Herod. After Madden.
4. Cornucopia. Coin of Titus. After Madden.
5. Cornucopia. Coin of Agrippa. After Madden.

BOWKNOTS CONNECTING THE VINE TIPS

6. Three stems tied together. Green glazed Samian cup. First century. Boston Museum of Fine Arts. From a photograph furnished by the Museum.
- 7, 8, 9. The three principal types of knots on the chalice of Antioch.

THRONE RESTS AND PLATFORMS

10. Lower part of the throne of the elder Augustus. Cup from Boscoreale. Collection of Baron Edmond Rothschild, Paris.
11. The same part of the throne of the Youthful Augustus. Same cup.
12. The lower part of the throne of figure No. 1. Chalice of Antioch.
13. The same part of the throne of the youthful Christ. Chalice of Antioch.

chalice, while the central loops contain various rosettes, almost exact copies of those seen in the central loop of the Naples cameo vase. This marble stand thus connects directly the Augustan period, the Naples vase, and the chalice ornaments with each other. The stand undoubtedly belongs to the first century A.D. and is labelled by the Museum authorities as of the Augustan period.

The Grape Vine in the Catacomb of Domitilla.—This vine is the only one in the catacombs of Rome which shows a conspicuous similarity with that of the chalice. It is also the earliest, by some placed at the end of the first century A.D.¹ It is the only vine in the catacombs or on sarcophagi which possesses the characteristic loop of the vine on the chalice.

End Buds like Cornucopiae and Fleur-de-lis.—Ten or more of the end buds of the vine on the chalice possess peculiar forms, resembling cornucopiae and fleur-de-lis. The types are shown in Figure 2, 1, 2. Similar end buds are not found among the vines of the late sarcophagi but are seen on coins and reliefs of the first century A.D., as, for example, coins of Herod, Agrippa, and Titus, (Fig. 2, 3, 4, 5).² These figures are generally identified as cornucopiae, but those on the coins of Herod seem to represent a round fruit between two end buds. Similar end buds are also found on the marble table mentioned above and on various other reliefs of the first century. The stems of both buds and cornucopiae widen towards the apex, thus increasing the resemblance.

The Eagle.—The eagle on the chalice shows a conspicuous similarity to the eagles before and of the first century A.D. (Fig. 3), but little or no similarity with eagles of a later date. No similar eagle has been found on any other Christian object, whether wall painting or sarcophagus relief. The type is that of classic Greek eagles with lifted and spread wings, such as are found on the coins of several cities in Asia Minor, for instance those of Apameia and Acmonia in Phrygia.³ Both of these cities are near Antioch and the artist of the chalice must have been acquainted with their coins. The similarity between the eagles is too great to be accidental. Somewhat

¹ E. Hennecke, *Altchristliche Malerei und Altkirchliche Literatur*.

² F. W. Madden, *Coins of the Jews*, pp. 88–91, 122, 124.

³ Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, s. v. *Acmonia* and *Apameia*.

similar eagles, but less artistically executed are found on coins of Domitian and Hadrian.¹ That the form was used in decoration in the first century we know from a representation found in Pompeii.² The similarity to that on the chalice is obvious.

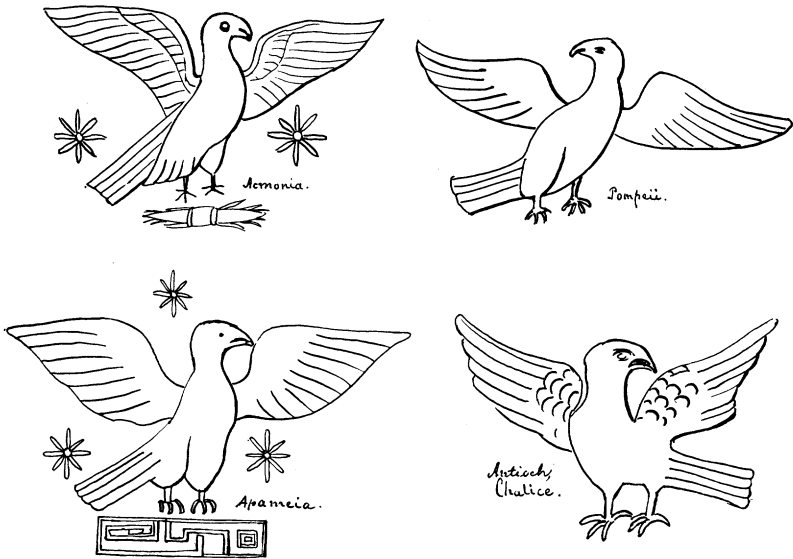


FIGURE 3.—EAGLES.

Acmonia. From a coin of that city. After Smith, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*.

Pompeii. After a painting in Pompeii. First century A.D. Roux.

Apameia. From a coin of that city, after Smith, *op. cit.*

Antioch. Chalice.

The Seated Figures.—The heads of the figures need little further reference than that which was given in my first paper, in which I endeavored to show that such representations could be nothing but portraits, made by an artist who had actually seen those he portrayed or who had access to actual portraits. Only one who has seen the persons he portrays can infuse such life, such personal characteristics, and such feelings of individuality as our artist has done. The heads show a classic style and treat-

¹ Domitian, *Collection du feu M. N. Montagu, Monnaies d'or* (Sale catalogue), Paris, 1896. Hadrian, J. Y. Akerman, *A descriptive Catalogue of rare and unedited Roman Coins*, p. 231, pl. 6.

² Roux, *Herc. et Pomp.* III, ser. 2, pl. 94.

ment. Each contains its distinct thematic form, which is repeated in the dress and ornament pertaining to that figure. Each figure is also invested with a distinguishing arrangement of lines, generally curved, carried out from the head through the figure and surroundings. This continuation and extension of harmonious lines is a powerful contribution to the sense of grandeur in these miniature heads; and at the same time attributes to each figure its theme. These considerations establish the designer of the heads on the chalice, who was probably also their sculptor, as an artist profoundly learned in the ultimate mysteries of his craft; the possessor of knowledge not revealed in any other extant works of his period. The skill with which he applied his knowledge is surprising and shows that he stood at the very height of his profession. The school of composition represented in the gracious, noble arrangement of line and form is a direct survival of the best traditions of Greek design; of the principles that animate in common the best work ranging from shields to the structure of temples. The more important of these principles had practically dropped out of use before the Christian era, and their application became increasingly rare until the time of Constantine, when the last vestige of this art disappeared. Their use at a time of artistic decline stamps their possessor as an artist unique in his century, so far as is revealed by existing records.¹ The heads of the chalice are individualities. Those on the Augustus cup, though wonderfully well made, give us the feeling that they represent more a type than individuals. After the end of the first century it is rare to find anything but types. This is shown in the various so-called portraits, which, though they might reflect considerable personal likeness, rarely show the characteristics of mind and temperament, as do those of the chalice. The later artists could better represent the evil characters of the persons portrayed than the nobler ones. The nobility, spirituality, and force represented by the heads on the chalice are not found in any works, that have been preserved, later than the time of Nero, Titus, and Trajan.

Hair and Beard.—The hair and beard show a great variety of treatment which would not have been probable after the second century. The long curls hanging down the back and resting on

¹The analysis of the scheme of composition upon which the chalice decorations are based has been made by Mrs. Margaret West Kinney, who is making etchings of the heads of Christ and the Apostles.

the shoulders of some of the figures show that the artist portrayed the apostles as Jews, and gave them features of a strong Jewish type. The fashion of long curls has survived among the Jews to our day, but is not found in the catacomb paintings in which the artists discarded all realistic Jewish features. The hair and beard of the figures thus support the theory of the date in the first century.

The Eyes.—The treatment of the eyes does not show any stereotyped standard, but on the contrary a variety of methods that could scarcely have been possible after the second, much less after the third century. The eyes in each of the twelve figures are treated differently, the artist evidently having searched for methods by which to express the feeling and individuality he desired to give to each of the personages he was portraying. The treatment of the eyes by various methods thus supports the early date assigned to the chalice.

The Dress.—The fact that the dress of all the seated figures is the toga indicates to some extent the early date of the chalice. Already at the end of the first century the toga had been almost discarded as a costume for daily use and replaced by the pallium and the tunic.¹ All the early representations of Christ and the apostles show them in the pallium, while later ones show them in the tunic or in various other garbs, more or less resembling the oriental dress of today.² After the first century the toga was reserved for magistrates, judges, and finally for consuls. With the death of the last consul the Roman toga disappeared. If the figures on the chalice were made after the first century, we should expect to find them in the pallium. On the contrary Nos. 1 and 8 are dressed in most elaborately as well as artistically draped togas, while in the other figures the toga is represented slightly less elaborately. There are not only points of resemblance between the togas on the Augustus cup and those of figures 1 and 8, but the resemblance of the emperor's toga with that of figure 3 is apparent. The similarity is enhanced by the pose of the two figures, and one would be justified in assuming that the artist of the chalice had actually been inspired by this cup, or by some contemporary object similar to it. The resemblance is too great to be accidental.

¹ Clark D. Lamberton, *Themes from St. John's Gospel in early Roman Catacomb Painting*, p. 30.

² O. M. Dalton, *Byzantine Art*.

That neither Christ nor the apostles ever wore a toga is probable, and all that we can conclude is that the artist used the garment which he considered most worthy of their (religious) rank.



FIGURE 4.—HANDS AND SCROLLS

Had he lived at the time of later emperors, or in the time of the Ravenna mosaics, he would naturally have given his figures the imperial garments of that period and not the toga. The fact that he dressed them like emperors of the early empire, and especially like Augustus, points inevitably to a very early date.

The Handles of the Scrolls.—While we cannot derive any direct evidence from the handles of the rods on which the scrolls are wound, still the circumstantial evidence furnished by them is of considerable value. According to Latin writers, the ancients in the time of the early Roman emperors used knobs and buttons of metal at the end of such rods. Among the innumerable Christian and pagan representations of scrolls in painting and sculpture not more than half a dozen or so show any indication of such knobs. These are all of diminutive size, and not like those of the chalice. Unfortunately there exist no Jewish representations of their knobs and handles until late mediæval or early Renaissance times.¹ These, however, are all much larger than the

¹ L. Loew, *Graphische Requisiten und Erzeugnisse bei den Juden*, p. 127.

EXPLANATION OF FIGURE 4

FIGURE 4.—HANDS AND SCROLLS

2. Left hand of figure No. 2, possibly a sword handle. Chalice of Antioch. All these figures are much enlarged.
3. Left hand and scroll of seated figure No. 3. Chalice of Antioch.
4. Left hand and scroll of figure No. 4. Chalice of Antioch.
5. Left hand and bag, figure No. 5. Chalice of Antioch. The object in the hand is doubtful. It resembles a bag, but might have been intended as a scroll.
6. Left hand and scroll of figure No. 6. Chalice of Antioch.
7. Left hand and scroll of figure No. 7. Chalice of Antioch.
8. The left hand of Christ, figure No. 8. Chalice of Antioch. The Scroll of the Thora or Law. Rolled on two staffs. Indistinct inscription or sign in the centre.
9. Left hand and scroll of figure No. 9. Chalice of Antioch.
10. Left hand of figure No. 10. Chalice of Antioch.
11. Two views of the left hand of figure No. 11. Chalice of Antioch.
- 12, a. The left hand and scroll of the elder Augustus on the Augustus cup of the Boscoreale treasure. Collection of Baron Edmond Rothschild, Paris.
- 12, b. The left hand and scroll of the young Augustus. The same cup.
13. An ancient scroll of the Law in the hands of Susanna. Wall painting in the catacombs of Rome, after Palmer.
14. The scroll of Esther. Old Jewish MS.
15. Top of scroll, painting in Pompeii. Attached to the edge is the title.
- 16, a-g. Seven different Jewish scrolls of books of the Old Testament, showing various forms of handle.

others, and in form quite similar to those on the chalice (Fig. 4). Assuming, as we can with reason, that the Jewish types of ornaments and implements continued with little change for centuries, we can conclude that the knobs on the chalice show a Jewish type. Such a type would never have been copied by the Christians after the first century A.D. but might very well have been copied in the first century, before the rupture with the Jews was complete. The scrolls, no doubt, indicate the missionary work of the apostles, their preaching and writings, and the artist placed them on a par with the books of the Old Testament, giving them the same outward form. All the scrolls differ individually: this probably with reference to the individual work of the apostles. After the New Testament had been collected, I think, the artist would not have made individual scrolls, but one common type for all, such as we find in painting and sculpture, in the catacombs and elsewhere.

The Phylactery.—A careful examination of figure 9 on the chalice reveals the highly interesting fact that his right arm is wound with the band called by the Jews, "Tephillin," and forming a part of the arm-phylactery which every orthodox Jew was commanded to wear at prayer.¹ We can count the seven or eight turns of the band and follow it into the palm of the hand, where we see the ends crossed. The small box containing the

¹ Compare the illustrations in J. C. Bodenschatz, *Kirchliche Verfassung der heutigen Juden*, Erlangen, 1748, part IV, ch. 1, and Paul Christian Kirchner, *Jüdisches Ceremoniel*, Nürnberg, 1726, pl. between pp. 6 and 7.

EXPLANATION OF FIGURE 5

FIGURE 5.—ARM-PHYLACTERIES

- 1, a. Left hand, the back. After Bodenschatz.
- 1, b. Left hand, the palm and elbow joint. After Bodenschatz. Observe the box in the elbow joint.
- 1, c. Enlarged illustration of the same box and its end strap. Middle of eighteenth century.
2. Right hand phylactery, back of hand. After Kirchner. Eighteenth century. Like that on chalice, figure 12.
- 3, 1. Back of left arm. After the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s. v. Phylactery.
- 3, b. Left arm, inner side. Box in the elbow joint.
- 3, c. Enlarged figure of the box in the elbow.
- 9, a. The right arm of the apostle No. 9, on the chalice of Antioch. The large loop pendent below the box in the elbow joint is probably not a part of the phylactery, but perhaps a waist cord.
- 9, b. Enlarged illustration of the box in the elbow and the bow on the end; from the same figure.

inscription on the parchment slips is also represented. It is seen as a small circular object in the elbow joint of the same arm. A phylactery is also found on the right arm of figure 12 of the chalice. It is almost exactly the arm phylactery of a right arm pictured by Kirchner, *l.c.*, figure 2. Thus on the chalice we have a phylactery on both the interior and the exterior of the

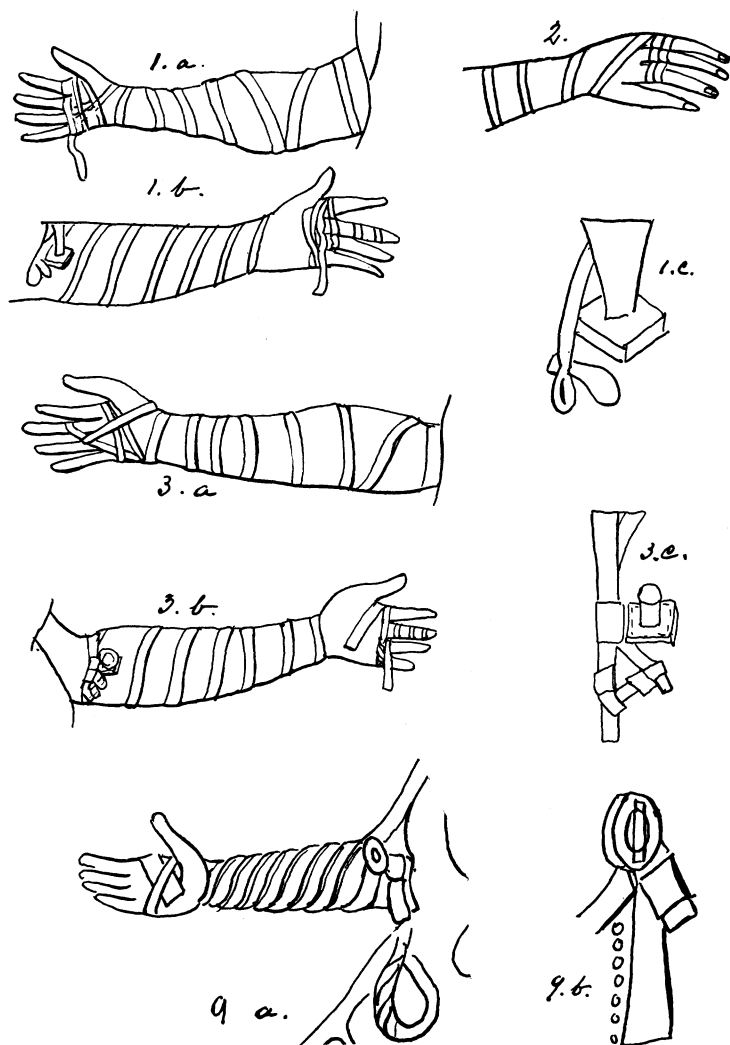


FIGURE 5

arm; and as both representations agree with those given by modern authors as being in use in recent years, we must consider the phylactery on the chalice as fully established. No figure in the catacombs possesses a similar phylactery, and it is probable that it was not general even among the earliest Christians. It was never adopted by the Christian Church, hence its value in dating the chalice. The apostle might have continued to wear it from old habit. The wearing of the phylactery was never condemned by Christ, although he condemned the habit of the Rabbis to increase the size for the purpose of show.

The Date Cannot be Later than the First Century.—Having thus enumerated the reasons for placing the date of the chalice in the first century, it now remains to review the reasons why the chalice could not have been executed after the end of this century.

There is not a single vessel of the *form and proportions* of the chalice known after the end of the first century. If the chalice had been made later, it would no doubt have possessed the same form and proportions as the many chalices represented on tombstones, sarcophagi, etc., of the period. All such chalices possess large handles, wide; probably fluted, bowls, and a narrower opening, in the style described and figured by Schnyder.¹ It might also have resembled the earliest known chalice, the Gourdon cup, which in turn resembles the Lycurgus cup.² Or perhaps it would have been given the form of the chalice represented in Cinque Santi.³ All these cups were more like a *carchesium*. The *dress* of Christ and the apostles would, if the ornaments had been made after the beginning of the second century, have been the pallium, the tunic, or the dalmatic, and not the toga. The *grape vine* would have resembled the painted vines of a later date, or the mosaic vines represented in S. Costanza, the Baptisterium of Constantine, and not the vines of the first century. The *heads and faces* of the figures would not have possessed a classical type and technique, if executed after the time of Hadrian. At the very best they would have partaken of the type seen on the Column of M. Aurelius, or that seen in the catacombs and on the sarcophagi of the time of Constantine. The faces would have been stereotyped or at least generalized. The *lotus* ornaments on

¹ W. Schnyder, *Die Darstellung des Eucharist. Kelches auf altchristl. Grabinschriften Roms*. Rome, 1900.

² Kisa, *Das Glas im Altertume*, fig. 233.

³ F. X. Kraus, *Geschichte der Christlichen Kunst*, I, p. 50.

the cup or on the foot would probably have been replaced by the acanthus leaf. There would have been no *phylactery* of a strictly Jewish type. The *eagle* would not have resembled the Greek and Roman eagles with lifted and spread wings, but would have resembled those of the later period with folded wings. And finally, in regard to the *technique*, not one single head or face of Christ, apostle, saint, or private person has come down to us from a period later than the end of the first century, which was executed with the skill, delicacy, feeling, and naturalism, shown in the heads of the apostles. No such heads could have been executed between the first century and the Renaissance.

The Assemblage.—One of my correspondents writes as follows:—"The strongest reason for dating the chalice to the time of Constantine, is the fact that the principal theme—Christ seated in the midst of Apostles—is unknown among extant remains of Christian art before the Peace of the Church. It is a theme that attained sudden popularity in the reign of Constantine. It is not easy to conceive for what reason it was not used before or why it became popular then." This argument would have some weight, if this theme had been invented at that time, but since we find similar figures on the Augustus cup, we can conclude that the motive was already known. Nor can a single uncertain argument offset all the proofs offered in this paper, especially when we find that there is no similarity whatsoever between the art and the technique of the seated figures of the Constantinian period and those of the chalice. None of the figures draped in the tunic of the late period with their stereotyped faces, expressions, and dress can compare with those on the chalice. The assemblage in general might indeed show some similarity with later works, but the details, which are more important, are so conspicuously different, that the comparison leads to a differentiation in the dates.

There is no difficulty in explaining why, during and after the Constantinian period, the custom arose of representing Christ surrounded by a number of apostles seated on thrones. Up to that time the Christian artists had been confined in their painting to the narrow and low chambers in the catacombs. But with the freedom and peace of the Church the room became unlimited; the artists expanded their works, transferring their labor from the underground vaults to the walls of spacious cathedrals and churches, where the larger space to be ornamented with painting

and mosaic made the use of the "large assemblage" not only advisable, but desirable and necessary. The artists then revived the practise of representing prominent personages seated on thrones and surrounded by attendants and followers.

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